1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

373 lanterns which are operated with gasoline. People are cautious in their use. Flashlights are owned and used. They are a source of amusement in late summer when two groups of young people, meeting at night, try to blind each other with the beams.

EXCHANGE

439 A portion of the resources, namely furs, which are derived from the environment, are not directly utilized by the Indian but, after being briefly processed, are converted into consumer and capital goods which have their origin outside the Kaska area. In other words, trapped and stretched pelts are sold or traded. Unlike the white trapper, the Indian confines his interest in fur to the immediate process necessary to convert his fur into cash. Except for rumors of price trends, which he occasionally picks up in Lower Post, he has neither knowledge nor interest in those factors of the world market that ultimately determine the valuation placed on his pelts. Similarly the Indian largely fails to appreciate the economic forces that determine the price of the commodities which he buys. As a result hedging, that is, holding skins from the market in expectation of an increase in value is never practiced.

435 The value set upon the Indian's fur by the white traders of the North, as well as the prices which the Indian is required to pay for the necessities of living, are both largely controlled by a series of intricate mechanisms involving the economic system of western society, over which the local traders lack control. However, despite the fact that price and value are largely determined by conditions of the world market, differences occur in the amounts paid for fur and prices charged by different traders. The Indian is aware of these local variations. He also knows that competition between local trading companies is apt to benefit him by increasing the amount he receives for fur and by lowering somewhat the prices that he must pay for goods. Table 6 indicates the approximate prices paid for common furs in Lower Post in spring, 1944.

437 Competitive bidding by traders is common. As the trader inspects the pelts and appraises their value the Indian stands back matter-of-factly without speaking. No emotion, not even interest, is betrayed in his features. When the bid is written out and read, the furs are put back in the sack from which they were taken, still without a word of comment. If later the Indian comes back, dissatisfied with the bid of the trader's competitor, he will signify that he is now ready to sell.

Theoretically the Indian can sell his fur to the highest bidder and with the proceeds buy what equipment and food he needs from the cheapest selling trader. There are several reasons why this procedure is rarely followed. In the first place, a trader short of ready cash frequently offers the seller a good price for fur, provided that the catch is turned over to him in order to settle an outstanding debt or in trade for additional merchandise. Such a transaction is almost pure barter. Another reason for failing to take advantage of the open market is the fact that a trapper may feel obligated to let a particular trader have part of a catch, regardless of the value which this trader sets on the skins, in order to exhibit his ability as a trapper and thus maintain future credit standing with that firm. While such transactions deprive the Indian of some of the value of his fur, they are never resented. Someday, illness or poor luck may make the good opinion of one or both traders important. Individuals recognize strongly the advantages in being friendly with "storemen."

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1965) 1949 ND12 Nelson ND12

Table 6. Base For Values—Kaska, 1949

435

For	Value
Beaver	Extra large and fabulous, Hudsons BC's, good colors, fur dry. Ordinary large, full fur. Large medium, fur dry. Medium fur dry. Small fur dry.
Red fox	Value's, fur dry. Ordinary types, fur dry. Low grades, fr dr.
Cross fox	Silvery type, fur dry. Ordinary types fr dr.
Silver fox	Full silvery, good skins, fur full. Platina types up to $80. Wingnecks and white face fur dry. Half and three quarter silvers, fur dry. Ordinary full, fur dry. Inferior and off colors, fr dry.
Lynx	Extra large and large, good colors, Value's, Hudsons BC's, fr dry. Ordinary, fur dry. Medium, good colors, fur dry. Small, fr dry.
Marten	Extra large and large heavies BC's and Value's, dark and dark browns, $80 down. Medium dark grades, full dry. Extra large and large Value's, light browns and pales, fr dry full. Medium BC's extra large and large light browns and pales fur dry. Medium and smalls, light browns and pales fur dry.
Coyote	Medium BC's, good average skins, fr dry.

437

Most fur is sold by men, a husband by father often selling his wife's or daughter's fur. The proceeds of such sales are reapportioned, each person getting money or credit for the skins which he or she trapped. Since the man spends the greatest time trapping, he naturally also accumulates the largest number of skins. In turn he is responsible for supplying the necessary supplies and food required by the family.

Sometimes a man is reluctant or unable to take his furs to the post and contracts a friend with the task of selling one or two skins and buying a few necessary goods. The friend only be paid for this services, receiving about five dollars a day for his journey. "Sometime you lose your fur for good," Old Man pointed out dourly. "I did with John Keen. I send cartridge, I bet him leave one lynx. He get fifty dollars for lynx and buy gun for it. I never get my lynx."

When the furs are sold, the seller is informed of the amount of his credit standing or receives an amount in cash. He is now ready to buy supplies.

Shopping is a leisurely business. Generally a man buys the food and necessary supplies for a family, women confining themselves to the purchase of dresses, yard goods, and occasional accessories. Whenever possible, men and women will select food items or expensive clothing which can be received without going behind the counters. Children go to the stores for candy and fruit. The Indian announces his wants individually, asking for a certain amount's worth of goods without demanding the unit prices of the items. Thus: "Fifty cents soap," or "Dollars worth oranges." Looking around the trader's shelves, he tries to recall what the family lacks. If his wife is there, she may prompt him in her own language.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1948) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

wood covered with a tarp. If goods must be unloaded from a boat before reaching the final destination of a journey, they are stored on the shore and, if rain is expected, placed on poles and covered with a tarp. In contrast to the aloofness of farewells, greetings are warm. People meeting in Lower Post after a winter's absence in the bush always shake hands with expressions of pleasure.

Indians are usually enthusiastic about travel. The same anticipation and pleasure marks a family's return to Lower Post in the spring which characterizes their start home in the fall. Hunting trips, when the decision has been made to start, are always undertaken with excitement, optimism and enjoyment. Low expenses make the start of a trip less tense. There is a commonly expressed attitude of disdain for "sitting one place all the time like white men." Any prolonged camping in one spot quickly becomes tiresome and dull. This unrest is manifested in several ways. People complain of how much it is costing them to live in town; a man remembers that soon the bull moose will begin to run and how fat he'll be; hence the time to get meat is running short; somebody else expresses pity for the "starving" dogs who need fish and meat. Often the decision to move is made with little warning. One day may be spent finishing new dog packs or belatedly buying supplies, and the next morning the eager barking of the dogs gives notice that the family is off.

Despite the frequency of travel, families seldom move solely for pleasure and rarely go beyond the limits of the tribal district except to visit the trading post. A man's youth is usually a time for wider travel but such longer journeys never succeed in permanently luring a man from the Kaska area. As Hilda explained it, people in a strange place are apt to become homesick for their country and this homesickness takes considerable time to wear off. Before it has had a chance to disappear, the youth has started back to his people.

FOOD, DRINK, AND INTOXICANTS

For Indians, except possibly some members of the Frances Lake tribe, any longer desire to maintain themselves primarily on game and fish. Although meat and fish are of both gustatory and economic importance, they are not in themselves depended on for subsistence, survival being closely bound up with the foodstuffs supplied by white traders. In winter when the Indians are far from the trading post and heavily dependent on the goods which were transported in the fall, an adequate supply of food is an indispensable guarantee against hunger misery. Food also has capital value. A sufficient stock of accumulated food stuffs means that, once the trapping season opens, time and effort can be concentrated to the business of getting furs rather than diffused between hunting and trapping. Hunting is chiefly to be pursued in autumn, not only because at that time game is far from rich summer living, but because then time is available for this activity and the meat obtained will allow purchased provisions to stretch through the winter. Fishing in late summer and fall is of similar economic importance. These reasons explain in part the strong emotion which Indians invest in a supply of things to eat. They also help to demonstrate why the value of food in Kaska society is comparable to that of money in our own.

The Kaska refer to two kinds of food, meat and "grub." Meat unequivocally includes fish and any game animals or fowl killed for eating. Grub designates any food purchased from the traders, including flour, rice, canned meats, and fruit. Each family is expected to supply

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

272 with water is used in summer. In winter, powdered whole milk, which is easier to transport and which cannot become damaged by freezing, is generally prepared.

276 *Stimulants and condiments.* Tobacco has attained wide popularity in the Kaska area and is smoked, chewed, and, in the form of snuff, held in the mouth without chewing. While a few older men smoke pipes, the majority of men and women prefer cigarettes, particularly the American brands to which they have been introduced by soldiers and civilians engaged on work along the Highway. Boys begin to smoke at about the age of nine and girls at about fourteen. In Lower Post, people commonly buy readymade cigarettes (at thirty-five cents a package). Including the many cigarettes that must be given to friends who temporarily lack "smokes," a person consumes a pack of cigarettes a day. In the bush, nearly all smokers roll their own smokes, an exception being Old Knox who supplies himself with a winter's supply of "tailor smokes." For rolling, the stronger tasting rice paper (Chanticleer brand) is generally preferred. Donald Sam was the only person observed to moisten dry cigarette tobacco by first rolling it in his hand and then breathing onto his cherished fag. Only rarely is a supply of smokes rolled in advance of a journey. Young girls, however, sometimes preserve partly smoked stubs in empty matchbox boxes and use these while traveling in cold weather, when rolling cigarettes is difficult. Men who are playing cards, gambling, or drinking may request an unoccupied youth or wife to roll smokes for them. In smoking cigarettes are generally held between the thumb and index finger, the hand being cupped around the glowing tip (Pl. 5, c). They are smoked until quite small and are then usually thrown into the fire or, in summer and fall, stamped out with the foot.

Both men and women take *snuff* easily. When the supply of prepared snuff is exhausted, a person may prepare his own by mixing cigarette tobacco with white wood ashes on a piece of cardboard. The mixture is spread thin and heated in front of a fire. While snuff taken as well as tobacco chewers also smoke cigarettes, for most people smoking is not a satisfactory substitute for the other forms of tobacco. The chewing of plug tobacco is almost entirely restricted to men.

263 The principal *condiments* used by the Kaska are salt, pepper, cinnamon, ketchup, pickles (in summer), Worcestershire sauce, and prepared mustard. [redacted] was having been brought up to use salt often uses it sparingly, but for most people it is an indispensable feature of the diet.

511 *Standard of living.* Unlike the situation prevailing with respect to capital goods, which are easily concentrated, readily available, or freely loaned, the distribution of consumer goods varies more sharply among different families. The principal factors making for an unequal standard of living are: differences in hunting ability, luck in hunting, health, the degree of enterprise invested in trapping, the character of a trap line, and the willingness of a man to work for wages during the summer. Families in which there are several able hunters and permanent trappers are better provided with consumer goods than families consisting of old or infirm people or those whose productive members are reluctant to earn themselves.

439 The average combined winter and spring earnings of a Kaska family are about $600. A
435 very few men earn as high as $1000 a year; others earn only from $300 to $500. In appraising these figures it must be remembered that families often have several children and unproductive old people who must be fed, and that prices for food and most supplies are very high in the North.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

A large portion of these earnings goes to pay back the credit extended by traders the previous fall. The balance is used by the family to live in Lower Post during the summer at which time cash is paid for everything purchased. The record established by a man in trapping in turn determines the amount of credit which will be extended to his family the following fall to be used in purchasing food and supplies for winter consumption. Credit, however, is not the only factor determining the distribution of consumer goods in winter, since there is a limit to the amount and quality of food that can be transported to the settlement. The number of moose and other game animals which can be killed in the fall and winter also has an important bearing on the family's standard of living.

Table 5. Minimum Base Requirements of Liquors

Item	Price	Item	Price
50 lbs. flour	$ 5.00	5 lbs. oatmeal	$1.00
5 lbs. lard	1.00	5 lb. butter	.85
5 lb. tea	.75	1 lb. jam	.40
2 lbs. baking powder	1.00	1 lb. lemon	.30
10 lbs. sugar	1.50	3 cakes face soap	.45
10 lbs. beans	1.00	3 cakes laundry soap	.35
10 lbs. rice	1.00	1 lb. chewing tobacco	1.00
1 lb. cheese	.50	1 lb. cigarette tobacco	1.00
3 lbs. dried milk	1.00	3 pkgs. cigarette papers	.30
1 lb. salt	.05	10 pkgs. matches	.50
2 lbs. barley	1.00	10 candles	.50
100 lbs. dog feed	15.00	50 large cartridges	6.50
6 lbs. dried apples	1.50	50 .22 cartridges	.50
1 lbs. raisins	1.00	Fishline, thread, etc.	1.00
3 lbs. macaroni	$ .30		
			$30.80

Because money is generally plentiful in the spring after a family returns from trapping the marginal standard of living is not generally apparent in Lower Post. Almost everyone has money to spend for new clothes, canned meat, fresh fruit, pies, doughnuts, cigarettes, candy, and whiskey or rum. An average family's expenses for these months in Lower Post amounts to about $150. Women, and particularly adolescent girls, spend a large part of their winter earnings for clothes, buying many blouses, slacks and jackets when they arrive at the post in the spring, or ordering these garments from mail order houses. Men and boys tend to combine clothes purchases to necessary items and generally secure these on credit in the fall. Their surplus money goes largely for alcoholic liquors.

In winter, the inequality shows up more sharply. A minimal standard of bush living is shown in Table 5. This indicates the amount of food and necessary supplies which a family consisting of two adults and one child, and owning four dogs, requires in one month. The prices are for Lower Post and must be almost doubled for gauging living standards at a remote outpost like Frances Lake.

If the monthly sum is multiplied by the nine months that the average family spends in

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

the bush, it will be seen that a minimal standard of living away from the post for a family of this size requires the expenditure of about four hundred dollars. Most families, of course, spend more than this.

It is interesting to compare the minimal requirements shown in Table 8, which were obtained from Indians, to the monthly ration allotted to an indigent adult (or child over twelve) by the Indian Affairs Branch (Table 10).

From bills, which he had preserved, it was possible to reconstruct at least part of Old John's winter outfit for 1940. His purchases, made for a family of four at one store, are listed in Table 9 and may be regarded as quite average. Many of the items were probably dupli-

TABLE 9. PART OF OLD JOHN'S WINTER OUTFIT—1940

Item	Price	Item	Price
100 lbs. white flour	$05.00	10 lbs. lard	$ 3.35
50 lbs. whole flour	2.00	5 boxes corn flakes	1.75
25 lbs. rice	1.00	16 lbs. jam	6.75
250 lbs. sugar	10.50	4 lbs. salt	1.00
10 lbs. brown beans	1.50	1 slab bacon	4.50
15 lbs. navy beans	1.50	10 lbs. lentils	1.50
15 lbs. white beans	1.50	1 carton candles	8.50
10 lbs. corn meal	1.50	1 suit	30.00
5 lbs. cornstarch	1.25	10 No. 3 traps	25.00
50 lbs. dry milk	30.00	1 doz. No. 0 traps	5.75
25 lbs. raisins	10.00	1 doz. No. 1 traps	6.00
25 lbs. prunes	8.50	1 pr. pants	7.50
8 boxes 50's tea	10.00	1 mackinaw	12.00
5 cartons 200 long	5.00	½ case eggs	10.50
20 lbs. tea	10.00	1 ax	2.50
25 lbs. coffee	15.50	assst. wire	8.25
5 lbs. soap cake	1.25	1 dunnage bag	4.00
2 cases egg powder	6.50		
5 lbs. syrup	2.50	Total	$319.50
20 lbs. butter	7.00		

cated in his purchases at the other trading company, with other items, like dog feed and matches, added.

A complete winter outfit, including replacement of capital goods, totaling in all about $500, would last Old John, his wife, daughter, and his wife's granddaughter until Christmas, when some of these purchases (including capital goods) would again be duplicated. From these data it may be estimated that a family of two adults and two children with several dogs requires an outfit costing about $1000 for the winter stay in the bush.

Data have been presented showing first, the Indian's own estimate of a family's minimal monthly food requirements, and, second, some of the food which an average family takes into the bush for winter living. Table 10 represents the monthly rations allotted to Indians

under the other across the back of the dog, either end being available as top cover. Material to be packed is placed in the bags, it being necessary to have the contents of each about equal in weight. The covers of the bags are fastened down with a lacing of thongs passed through a series of loops of the same material in the upper sides of the bags, the lacing passing from one bag to the other across the lids /sic/ and the back of the dog. The bags are kept in place by a single slash rope of leather or canvas about ten or twelve feet long which is first passed around the ends of the bags below the sides of the dog and then around the bags underneath the dog and back over the top to the point of commencement. There are several slightly different methods of fastening the bags. (For specimen of the common dog pack-bag of the Tahltan see National Museum specimen No. 39).

Dogs pack weights of twenty to fifty pounds according to their size or strength. Families have two or three to six or more dogs. The difficulty of feeding them at certain seasons almost alone limits their number. Large active dogs good for both packing and driving and well enough haired to withstand severe cold are in demand and some dogs exchange for as high as $40.00 or even more.

Horses

The Tahltans saw the first horses about 1875, when pack trains of horses and mules arrived overland from the southern interior of British Columbia to pack during the gold mining excitement. The packers with these trains were Whites of various nationalities, Mexicans and Indians from the Shuswap and Lillooet tribes and from Thompson River. Accompanying the latter were two Shahaptin Indians, one a Yakima and one a Wallawalla. Most of these pack train hands soon returned, and after a time most help of this kind was supplied by young men of the Tahltan, who thus became acquainted with horse packing, and horse management, including shoeing of horses. With the diminishment of mining most of the pack trains had left by 1884. However, some horses were retained in the country for packing purposes by traders and others and there was again an increase of horses and packing during the Klondike excitement. Later packing of supplies for the Yukon Telegraph Line and development of big game hunting due to the annual arrival of wealthy whites, added to the packing done by traders

437 chiefly those woven of cedar bark; a few dug out ca-
439 noes (some large), and tobacco (especially in later days. The tobacco was of at least two kinds, a trade twist tobacco, and a leaf or loose kind supposed to be grown by the Tlingit); some pipes or hard wood and metal; liquor (especially rum in later days), dressed skins of moose during the period when moose were scarce in Tahltan country. A mooseskin at this time was worth
[435] five beaver skins. /Other items received were/ some iron tools such as awls, chisels, gimlets, etc., in later days; some woven baskets of Tlingit make; some bark baskets specially used for boilers or kettles. It was said that most of these came from Chilkat coun-
437 try or north of there. The first intoxicant the
439 Tahltan saw was a keg of rum procured by the Tlingit
273 from White traders on the coast and brought up to the Tahltan at so much a cup. Some time afterwards for a period of years the Tlingit brought rum. Latterly they made special trips in canoes to Victoria, B.C., to procure it. They brought kegs of rum, generally small, but some of them quite large, all the way up the coast and then up the Stikine a distance altogether of over seven hundred miles. A great many skins were paid by the Tahltan for large unbroached kegs, so many in fact that no single man could afford to buy one; usually a clan clubbed together in purchasing one. As the Tahltan country was rich in furs and the Tahltan besides handled most of the Kaska fur the business done by the Tlingit was very lucrative.

437 The Tahltan also traded a good deal with the
439 Kaska. They bought most of their /the Kaska's/ furs and resold them to the Tlingit. Besides furs they bought some robes and dressed caribou and moose skins from the Kaska. Owing to the distance and the fact that articles were carried for the most part on the back, trading was chiefly in light and valuable things. The lighter and more valuable furs, skins and robes were those generally bought from the Kaska: fox, lynx, marten, fisher, mink, ermine. Beaver being a staple fur was in demand.

It seems a little copper was procured from the Kaska. The articles bartered for the above were chiefly light valuable things procured from the Tlingit, such as dentalium and haliotis shells, shell knives, ornaments such as bracelets, earrings, etc., beads and trinkets in later days, stone axes, copper and iron in small numbers or quantities. Some tobacco and ammunition in later days, etc.

437

437 EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS--types of exchange (e.g., barter, purchase of goods with money, exchange of services for goods); negotiations (e.g., higgling, auctioning); formalities; guarantees; trading expeditions; special trading relationships; etc. See also:

Marketing 46
Property transactions in marriage 58
Gift exchange 433
Foreign exchange 457
Exchange of services 476

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TABLE 6. SOME FUR VALUES—SPRING, 1944

435

Fur	Value
Beaver	Extra large and blankets, Northern BC's, good colors, $47-$51. Ordinary large, $38-$42. Large medium, $30-$32. Medium $21-$23. Small $16-$17.
Red fox	Yukon's, $13-$15. Ordinary types, $10-$11. Low grades, $1-$2.
Cross fox	Silvery type, $27-$31. Ordinary types $14-$16.
Silver fox	Full silvers, good sizes, $34-$38. Platina types up to $88. Wringnecks and white faces $34-$41. Half and three quarter silvers, $20-$25. Ordinary full, $15-$17. Inferior and off color, $9-$13.
Lynx	Extra large and large, good colors, Yukon's, Northern BC's, $61-$74. Ordinary, $36-$43. Mediums, good colors, $42-$50. Smalls, $25-$30.
Marten	Extra large and large interior BC's and Yukon's, dark and dark browns, $86-$100. Mediums and smalls, $56-$64. Extra large and large Yukon's, light browns and pales, $54-$62. Northern BC's extra large and large light browns and pales $44-$50. Mediums and smalls, light browns and pales $25-$27.
Coyote	Northern BC's, good average sizes, $8-$10.

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The proceeds of such sales are reapportioned, each person getting money or credit for the skins which he or she trapped. Since the man spends the greatest time trapping, he naturally also accumulates the largest number of skins. In turn he is responsible for supplying the necessary supplies and food required by the family.

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437 Often the clerk or storekeeper suggests staples. Many times, after the goods have been packed in a cardboard box and the clerk has turned to wait on a new customer, the purchaser will remember needs originally forgotten. Storemen are used to the idiosyncracies of Indian trading and seldom express any annoyance or impatience. For Indians there is no value in driving a sharp bargain. There is no haggling about price. In part this may be due to the fact that the people still lack a refined sense of the value of money. Furthermore, their reserve and unobtrusiveness are not the personality traits which are customarily associated with shrewd bargaining. Goods purchased are entered on a statement which is marked "Paid," if the buyer pays cash. In either cash or credit transactions, the buyer receives a duplicate of his statement. These are rarely retained and as a result allegations reflecting on a trader's honesty are not infrequent. At times complaints of dishonesty have been turned over to the Indian Agent or policeman, whose duty it then becomes to investigate. Often the individual who feels he has been cheated is content just to voice his complaint to friends. The validity of these complaints is difficult to estimate.

Most of the money received by Indians is spent in Lower Post. Occasionally clothing is ordered from a large mail order house, the independent trader with the poorest stock of goods or the missionary filling in the order blanks. In 1945 Nick Lang and his brother Peter visited Whitehorse where they bought practically all their winter outfit as well as an automobile for cash. Local buying is particularly heavy following the arrival of a new shipment of goods by boat or truck. At such times the stores are always crowded with people curious to see what has been received.

454 Only one or two individuals have opened savings bank accounts in outside cities. These bank by mail through the traders or missionaries. Their accounts are of not more than three or four years standing and are quite small. More common ways of temporarily saving money are to secret it in a corner of the house or leave it on deposit with the traders in Lower Post, where it does not, however, gather interest. Actually little cash is accumulated. In practice most people behave according to the description Nitla gave of himself: "Cash money nothing for me. I got cash money, spend it like nothing."

HOUSING

362 Although housing in Kaska society obviously functions to provide protection from the exigencies of climate, additional factors interfere to prevent any perfect correlation between dwelling form and seasonal usage. One such factor is the mobility of the society demanded as a consequence of the exploitative activities on which subsistence depends. Hunting and trapping frequently require temporary camps, the forms of which alter little in summer and winter. Housing is also influenced by the cooperation, time, and effort involved in building a log cabin. The fact that not everyone is ready or able to meet these requirements results in several families living in easily made shelters both summer and winter. Tarps, tents, and houses, therefore, provide shelter in any season of the year, even though the appropriateness of a house for winter comfort is generally recognized.

362 554 A gross correlation between dwelling form and status is discernible. From the standpoint of age, for example, a mature man is generally able to meet the costs involved in con-

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

159 464 Any strangers coming from Telegraph Creek knew me as a good river man and they'd hire me to take them down to Lower Post.

159 ●437 A few years later I went back fo Fort Liard to sell some skins. Before I went I bought a little outfit. Oscar helped me. He gave me good advice. "Don't trade for credit," he said, "They cheat you every time. If the storeman doesn't use the scale make him use it. Tell him we're going to report him if he doesn't use it." At that time the storeman in Fort Liard never used money. He just wrote and said: "You've got so much." Old Anderson warned me: "If he does that, you can ask for cash." I took about twenty skins to Fort Liard. Old Kean came too. He had about thirty beaver. I sold my fur and the storeman started to write it down. "You've got one hundred dollars in skins." he said. "What do you mean?" I asked. "You'd better give me cash." "This is just as good as cash," the storeman replied. "We want our money," I told him. When he went to the till he said. "I have only two hundred dollars here." I told him: "You're not going to use that for yourself, that's for the Indians." The Fort Liard Indians looked at us. He gave us all that money but said: "You'll spoil the Fort Liard Indians." "Should be all over the country like that," I told him.

159 797 In Telegraph Creek I had met Pallgrave, the Protestant churchman, who baptized me. When I got to Fort Liard I met Father Crouard. He warned me not to believe what the Protestant missionaries said about the Catholics and said the Protestants were wrong in what they preached. He asked me if I wanted to be baptized and I agreed. Later I told Pallgrave that Father Crouard had baptized me. He became angry and said I had already been baptized a Protestant.

159 481 One time I ran eighty miles across the portage from Telegraph Creek to Dease Lake. I started at seven o'clock in the morning and got there about half-past seven at night. only stopped for a little lunch. Gosh, when I got there, how my feet swelled up!

159 836 Four years after I started to work on the river, in 1914, I married Nelly. Her mother was a Nelson Indian and part Cree. Her father used to be in this country but went to Fort Nelson to work on a boat. Her parents had moved back to Lower Post about two or three years before. We were engaged for two years and when I wasn't in Telegraph Creek or working on the river I slept with her. In the winter I trapped with Nelly's father thirty miles down the Liard, near the Muddy River. My brother said: "You stay here too long just playing. You better marry her." Then we stayed together in front of everybody. She was a good wife and a good worker. In 1915 we had our first kid, a boy.

159 When I was first married and had only one child, I was like all young fellows. I didn't try to rustle but lay around most of the time. I hunted all right but gave all the meat away. My brother warned: "You're going to wake up yet." My wife then gave birth to a girl. I asked my brother for a hundred dollars to buy an outfit. He said: "You won't get it." He let me have fifty dollars to buy some stuff. We didn't carry much grub, a hundred pounds of flour was enough for me. I bought a case of milk and other stuff. That kid liked to eat all the time. My brother said: "You'd better rush." One time I made seventy lynx. That was during the first war and prices were way down. I got about four dollars for a lynx and two dollars for a good black marten. Nelly gave birth to three children. We were trapping near Tealin Lake when she died of flu in 1919.

My mother-in-law took care of the children and sometimes I lived there too. I used to

weeks to reach Wrangell and during this time they suffered severely from hunger and cold. Most of them were either sick or frostbitten when they reached home. At one place on the way they camped for the night in deep snow on the river bank and lit a fire at the base of a large tree. It happened the tree was hollow and in the night time it fell over killing a prominent Nanaai chief called Keceskê. The Tlingit believed Tahltan shamans intentionally or through negligence by boiling rabbits had brought on the cold before the Tlingit had time to get down the river and home. Next year the Tlingit demanded payment from the Tahltan for their chief's death and the privations they had endured. The Tahltans considered the demand for several days and finally agreed to pay something. They did not wish to have war with the Tlingit as it would stop trade. They paid them a considerable part of their demand, each clan contributing so much. This happened about eighty years ago. 439

Articles of Barter

The Tahltan sold to the Tlingit caribou and moose leather consisting of whole skins, especially of caribou in large numbers (occasionally skins were halved or quartered); considerable sinew thread and some babiche lines done up in packages; leather bags of various kinds, some of them fancy bags embroidered with quills; moccasins and some articles of clothing; some snowshoes; many robes of marmot, ground squirrel, and other skins; furs of all kinds, fox, lynx, beaver, marten, fisher, wolverine, bear, ermine, etc. They received in return slaves, oolachen oil, salmon oil, some salmon eggs, shells, principally dentalium and haliotis, some ceremonial and dance clothes and head dress, goats' wool blankets, especially Chilkat blankets, metal bracelets, ear rings, and nose rings (most of these were of copper and silver), finger rings in later days, stone axes, axes or hatchets of iron or steel in later days, steel traps in later days, guns and ammunition in later days. The first guns were procured from the Tlingit and were very costly. Ammunition was also at first very dear, five beaver skins being the price of a cup full of gun powder. /The Tahltan also procured from the Tlingit/ copper plates (one of these was equal in price to a good slave), copper, and in later days iron, both in forms of short rods, bars or sheets; iron or steel knives in later days; colored glass beads large and small in later days, buttons of different kinds in later days, shell knives large and small; a few mats, 437 439 [567]

437 439 chiefly those woven of cedar bark; a few dug out canoes (some large), and tobacco (especially in later days. The tobacco was of at least two kinds, a trade twist tobacco, and a leaf or loose kind supposed to be grown by the Tlingit); some pipes or hard wood and metal; liquor (especially rum in later days), dressed skins of moose during the period when moose were scarce in Tahltan country. A mooseskin at this time was worth [435] five beaver skins. /Other items received were/ some iron tools such as awls, chisels, gimlets, etc., in later days; some woven baskets of Tlingit make; some bark baskets specially used for boilers or kettles. It was said that most of these came from Chilkat country or north of there. The first intoxicant the 437 439 Tahltan saw was a keg of rum procured by the Tlingit 273 from White traders on the coast and brought up to the Tahltan at so much a cup. Some time afterwards for a period of years the Tlingit brought rum. Latterly they made special trips in canoes to Victoria, B.C., to procure it. They brought kegs of rum, generally small, but some of them quite large, all the way up the coast and then up the Stikine a distance altogether of over seven hundred miles. A great many skins were paid by the Tahltan for large unbroached kegs, so many in fact that no single man could afford to buy one; usually a clan clubbed together in purchasing one. As the Tahltan country was rich in furs and the Tahltan besides handled most of the Kaska fur the business done by the Tlingit was very lucrative.

437 439 The Tahltan also traded a good deal with the Kaska. They bought most of their /the Kaska's/ furs and resold them to the Tlingit. Besides furs they bought some robes and dressed caribou and moose skins from the Kaska. Owing to the distance and the fact that articles were carried for the most part on the back, trading was chiefly in light and valuable things. The lighter and more valuable furs, skins and robes were those generally bought from the Kaska: fox, lynx, marten, fisher, mink, ermine. Beaver being a staple fur was in demand.

It seems a little copper was procured from the Kaska. The articles bartered for the above were chiefly light valuable things procured from the Tlingit, such as dentalium and haliotis shells, shell knives, ornaments such as bracelets, earrings, etc., beads and trinkets in later days, stone axes, copper and iron in small numbers or quantities. Some tobacco and ammunition in later days, etc.

Usually these things were exactly double in value to the Kaska. Thus a cup of gun powder procured from the Tlingit for five beaver skins was sold by the Tahltan to the Kaska for ten beaver skins, and other things in proportion. 437 ● 439

BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE AND DEATH

Pregnancy

It is believed plenty of exercise and light work is best for a pregnant woman. A woman should be energetic and busy during pregnancy, thus exercising her body and mind. She should not, however, do any hard lifting, nor should she engage in violent exercises nor in any kind of work or amusement in which she would have to twist her body in any unusual way. Engaging in any of these things might cause the child to become misplaced in her womb or possibly cause the string to become misplaced. A woman who was lazy during pregnancy, sat down a great deal, did little work and ate a great deal would have a hard birth, for the child would be too big. If a woman engages in light exercise nearly all day long everyday and eats moderately or sparingly she will have as a rule an easy birth. Her child will not be too large and it will be healthier or stronger. 843

Some pregnant women make a practice of rising early many mornings. In the early morning they take a long walk or walk around much and also take a bath. Some think that to do this will make the child to be born fair of complexion.

A pregnant woman should not see any dead animal or corpse. If she saw the dead bodies of people and animals her child would die or be stillborn.

She should not eat to excess, especially of fat meats. This would make her soft, fat and lazy. Some women do not eat the flesh of any very young animal during pregnancy and this restriction is sometimes also enjoined on the husband.

Child Birth

Small brush lodges were made for women about to be confined.* They were of no particular style and conformed in shape and structure to the ordinary brush 844 347